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The Shape of Things

IN THE HEADLINE WRITERS' SCALE OF values a five-mile advance by the British in Egypt outweighs a hundred-mile break-through by the Germans in Russia. Such inflation of minor successes, particularly by the evening newspapers, makes it difficult for the public to grasp the gravity of the present position on the eastern front, where the Nazis have driven a huge wedge into Timoshenko's lines and are threatening to separate the southern wing of the Red Army from its center. To many people the Russian drama doesn't seem entirely real, nor its relation to our own task in defeating the enemy clear. To some extent Moscow must bear the blame. Its refusal to allow foreign correspondents or even Allied military observers anywhere near the fighting front has thickened the screen through which we view Russia's struggle, and our perspective has been further distorted by over-optimistic Soviet claims. What is clear enough, however, is that the offensive strength of the Reichswehr is still enormous and that its full weight is being employed to break Russia. Hitler is committed to victory in the east and cannot draw back without exposing himself to a ruinous counterblow. Thus the opening of a western front is both a strategic necessity and a great opportunity.

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THE ISSUANCE OF SEVERAL MEANINGLESS communiqués on the trial of the eight German saboteurs and the admission of a handful of reporters during a suspension of proceedings do not appear to be much of a victory for Elmer Davis in his fight against unnecessary secrecy. But the victory is there, and it is a hopeful one because of the skill with which the newly installed director of the Office of War Information achieved it. Alien sabotage trials are obviously rich in information that can be of value to the enemy, particularly to other saboteurs still on the loose. Mr. Davis knew better than to make such a case a test of his broad powers. Theoretically these powers supersede those of the military in the matter of disseminating war news, but the trial commission had been given equally sweeping authority. What Davis did was to insist on his right to be consulted, on his duty to ask whether the public was not entitled to

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some degree of information about the progress of the trial. In that test Mr. Davis came through with colors flying. After months of submission to bungling, overlapping authority, and surrender to the bureaucratic will to secrecy, we can feel that war news is at last in the hands of an official who understands, to quote his own words, that "this is a people's war and to win it the people should know as much about it as they can."

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WHILE IT HAS PARTIALLY RESTORED THE cuts made by the House in OPA funds, the Senate Committee on Appropriations has attached amendments to the bill which, according to Leon Henderson, will compel the abandonment of the general maximum-price regulations. The provision for Senate confirmation of all appointments carrying a salary exceeding $4,500 is a nuisance clause which seems to confirm the charge that Mr. Henderson has annoyed Congress by ignoring politics in the selection of his staff. Far more hampering, however, is the stipulation giving the Secretary of Agriculture veto power over price ceilings of commodities manufactured in whole or in part from farm products. Such ceilings are only to be approved if they reflect a return to the primary producers not less than any of the following: 110 per cent of parity; market price last October 1; market price last December 15; average price from 1919 to 1929. In order to satisfy this requirement, maximum prices on most foods and many types of textiles would have to be revised upward. At the same time the Senate, although favoring the sale of government-owned grain at below-parity prices, has passed a bill insuring 100 per cent parity loans on 1942 crops of wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, rice, and peanuts. This means putting under most of these commodities a floor which will raise them well above present market prices. With Congress carrying on in this fashion, with landlords putting on a well-financed campaign to force up rents, and with labor, which ought to be backing the OPA, attacking in the rear because of Henderson's opposition to wage increases, the ropes holding down the inflation balloon can barely take the strain. It is time, the President gave a hand by restating his seven-point program to keep down the cost of living in specific terms of the administrative and legislative action necessary to make it effective.

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THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE has made a number of last-minute revisions in the tax bill which will add a few hundred million dollars to the revenue but still leave the total more than two billion dollars short of the Treasury goal. One sensible new provision is the raising of personal exemptions for members of the armed forces, thus leaving the buck private's $50 a month free of tax. The burden on individual income-tax payers is further increased by a 1 per cent addition to surtax rates all the way up the scale, making it 13 per cent in the lowest brackets and 85 per cent at the top. Combined corporation income and surtax is to be at the rate of 45 per cent, compared with an earlier recommendation by the committee of 40 per cent, while the excess-profits rate has been lowered from 94 to 87½ per cent. However, the post-war credit of 14 per cent, formerly proposed, has been dropped. One of the worst features of the committee's report is the 5 per cent railroad-freight tax, which has been vehemently condemned by Leon Henderson as directly inflationary. This tax will be levied on the movement of each component of a final product, with each processor adding to his price enough and a little bit more to take care of this added cost. Thus the charge will be pyramided, and the increased burden on the final consumer will be much greater than the additional revenue.

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WILLSON WHITMAN GIVES A PICTURE IN this issue of the fantastic ingredients of the Texas Senatorial campaign and the personalities of the contestants. Very late news from the front indicates that O'Daniel is, as she suggests, slipping. Private newspaper polls covering the state show Allred in the lead, with O'Daniel second and Moody third. Texas is passionately patriotic—it has contributed the highest state proportion of volunteer soldiers and is at least 50 per cent pro-Roosevelt—and O'Daniel's vote last August "to send the boys home," together with his record of opposition to more stringent rationing measures, has offset the effect of hillbilly bands and old-time religion as vote getters. His attitude on the war and its direction was summed up in a campaign speech this week: "Don't let them know what you like. They'll ration anything that the people like." It looks as if Pappy O'Daniel would be back with the home folks next year.

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GRADUALLY, ALMOST SURREPTITIOUSLY, THE United States has been moving closer to the Free French, and now Secretary Hull has designated Admiral Stark and Brigadier General Bolte as representatives to "consult" with the French National Committee in London. The action amounts to the accrediting of naval and military attachés to the committee and recognizes the closer relations between our fighting forces and those of the Free French. But the State Department has gone far out of its way to make it clear that the French National Committee is not recognized as a government but only as "a symbol of French resistance in general against the Axis powers," and that "the destiny of France must, in the last analysis, be determined by free expression of the French people. . . ." Since General de Gaulle has re-

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peatedly proclaimed this position as his own, its official reiteration can only have the effect of irritating our Free French allies, grateful as they are for our closer collaboration. They must, one supposes, occasionally reflect that Laval's government is recognized by the United States even though it can hardly be said to have been selected through any technique of "free expression." But in these days one welcomes any evidence of courage and realism. The move of the State Department at least points up the fact that while our relations with De Gaulle are growing closer, those with Vichy are becoming more tenuous and uneasy day by day.

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BUT WE STILL TRY TO MAKE DEALS WITH the government that has sentenced De Gaulle to death as a traitor. According to dispatches from Vichy, the American chargé d'affaires, S. Pinkney Tuck, has been urging Laval to permit removal to safer ports of the French warships now interned at Alexandria. As might have been anticipated, Laval has refused, with a wealth of legalistic reasoning designed to conceal the obvious fact that Vichy can't hand those ships over to the Allies if it wants to; and it doesn't want to. They are a part of the prospective spoils of conquest, and Hitler will hardly authorize his puppet to cache them safely out of reach of the Nazi army. Attempts to induce Vichy to cooperate with the Allies instead of the Nazis have not been conspicuously successful to date. Remember Martinique? On that doorstep island our representatives, ignoring Vichy, were supposedly bringing about an agreement with Vichy's pro-Axis governor, Admiral Robert, to safeguard our interests by establishing American observers in Martinique and taking over the tankers sheltered in the harbor at Fort de France. If an agreement has been reached, nothing has been heard of it; and it is not likely that the State Department would fail to call attention to such a signal triumph. But Admiral Robert, on the other hand, broadcast a speech a few days ago in which he heaped insult and contempt on the American government which had tried, unsuccessfully, to "bribe" him into disloyalty to his country and his leaders. The speech was not released for publication. Why? Might this not be a suitable case for Elmer Davis to look into?

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LUDWIG LORE'S MEMOIRS, HAD THEY BEEN written, would have made good reading. His sixty-seven years were a political odyssey, from classic German Marxism, through the I. W. W. and pre-war socialism, to communism; followed by disillusion, fierce opposition to Communists of all shades, a renewed faith in democracy, and a passionate hatred for fascism and all its works. For all his natural kindliness and personal charm, he was a hard fighter, and if most of his positions were tenaciously held only to be abandoned, his life was none the less meaningful. He learned a great deal at each political station along the way, and his fund of experience will be sorely missed in the years ahead.

Should Wages Be Frozen?

THE demand of the United Steelworkers for a dollar-a-day increase in pay for the employees of the "Little Steel" group, on which a decision by the War Labor Board is imminent, is generally regarded as providing a test case in respect of wage policy during the war. If the WLB orders the raise, it will set a precedent which can be used to justify wage demands in many other industries, and one of the seven points of the President's program for the prevention of inflation—wage stabilization—will become a dead letter.

It is hardly to be expected that the price-ceiling structure—already none too secure—could withstand such a blow. Not merely would added costs force an upward revision in some ceilings, but the additional volume of purchasing power seeking satisfaction in a restricted supply market would exert an intolerable pressure on prices as a whole. Spokesmen for the steel workers are inclined to treat the "inflationary gap" as a myth, but unfortunately it is all too real, as everyone will begin to realize in a few months when the inventories swollen by last year's super-production of consumer goods vanish from the shelves.

In the past few days the stock market has suddenly developed strength. It is a significant response to the increased danger of inflation, which offers golden opportunities to holders of stocks. But for the workers inflation always means a heartbreaking race against prices, a race which they cannot hope to win. Consequently, the first objective of labor statesmanship in a total war economy, which by definition rules out a general rise in the standard of living, ought to be the maintenance of a stable price level, and this is not compatible with a rising wage scale.

Considered in isolation, the case for an increase in steel pay is a good one, as the report of the fact-finding panel of the WLB showed. Steel workers' wages, although above the average of all industries, are not high in comparison with other capital-goods industries. Moreover, the increase obtained in the spring of 1941 has since been canceled by the rise in the cost of living. The "Little Steel" companies can well afford to add a dollar a day to wages. In fact, it would cost them very little, for the main result would be to shrink their excess profits, of which the Treasury will in any case collect 87½ per cent if the present tax bill is voted. This point has been used widely as an argument against a wage increase, but as the fact-finding report says, "if a wage increase, otherwise proper, is withheld because of its effect on

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governmental revenues per se, such withholding would involve an unauthorized tax on workers."

The verdict of the fact-finding panel was a recommendation that the Steelworkers' demands should be met, and purely on the merits of the case there is no doubt that the recommendation was justified. The WLB, however, cannot formulate its own judgment in a vacuum; it must weigh the effects of a rise in steel wages on the economy as a whole, and it cannot ignore the serious inflationary repercussions such a rise is bound to have.

Should the government then freeze all wages? This is not as simple a procedure as many of its advocates suggest. In some industries wages are below the level of health and efficiency, and in such instances they must be raised in order to secure a full productive effort from the workers. Again, there is the question of wage differentials between similar industries and even branches of the same industry. Los Angeles aircraft workers receive 75 cents an hour as a minimum, while at the Ford bomber plant at Willow Run the minimum is $1. On the Pacific Coast copper miners and lumber workers are quitting their jobs for better-paid employment in the shipyards. In an era when the demand for skilled and semi-skilled labor is threatening far to outstrip the supply, wage differentials of this kind are bound to lead to a high turnover of personnel—one of the greatest obstacles to efficient production.

The question which must be faced is: Can wages be frozen without at the same time freezing men to their jobs? Such a step would mean a far sharper break with our traditions of free enterprise than many measures which have been bitterly fought by business interests—as, for example, maintenance of union membership. In Great Britain five million men engaged in work of national importance have been tied to their jobs. But in return for giving up the right of free contract they are protected in their employment and cannot be dismissed except for gross misconduct. Moreover, they are guaranteed full pay for a normal week's work whether there is work for them or not.

Similar steps may prove necessary here before the war is over, but meanwhile we submit for consideration the following program:

1. Wages above a level to be fixed in relation to minimum needs for maintaining health and efficiency to be frozen, subject to adjustment in the event of a further 10 per cent rise in the cost of living. The freezing should also be applied retroactively to salaries and executive bonuses in excess of $25,000—many of which have been stepped up tremendously in the past two years—bringing them back to 1939 levels.

2. In industries producing war goods or essential consumer goods the WLB should have power to order wage revisions when existing levels can be shown to have a deterrent effect on labor supply.

3. Legislation for the compulsory payment of profit-sharing bonuses to workers, in the form of a special issue of war bonds which could not be cashed until after the war.

Such a program is admittedly pragmatic. It represents an effort to find a formula which will check the present inflationary trend of wages without reacting adversely on production. And it seeks a way of preventing the sacrifices which the community must ask of the workers from incidentally benefiting their employers.

Dies Tells Almost All

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

NO INDICTMENT of the tricky tactics of our little Texas Himmler, Martin Dies, could be more damning than the indictment contained in his own apology—offered in the face of a $75,000 libel suit—to David B. Vaughan of the Board of Economic Warfare.

Mr. Dies is, he says, an honorable man. He is the first to make amends when he unwittingly publishes an erroneous statement about a fellow human being. Especially a fellow human being who is able to hire the best law firm in Washington to defend his name. And especially when Mr. Dies's underlings have been incautious enough to put the erroneous statement into a press release—not privileged—instead of into a libel-proof committee report or speech on the floor of the House.

Mr. Dies warmly embraces the opportunity to apologize to Mr. Vaughan, who definitely means business about the $75,000. And in the course of his eager correction he manages to tell almost all about the methods of the committee of which he is the head.

It seems the name "David Vaughn" appeared on a letter-head listing the numerous sponsors of the American League for Peace and Democracy. That was enough. Mr. Dies wrote a letter to the Vice-President of the United States charging that several employees of the Board of Economic Warfare, including David B. Vaughan, head administrative officer, were members of "Communist front" organizations. He demanded that these subversive individuals resign or be fired. Mr. Vaughan sued.

It happens that David B. Vaughan is not David Vaughn. He never sponsored the League for Peace and Democracy. He is a person of mildly liberal views who was a banker before he went to work for the government. To be labeled a Communist or near-Communist is bad for his reputation and even bothers him in his work, which involves questioning other applicants for jobs as to their political views and connections. So Vaughan proved a prickly victim of the Dies technique. And after a lapse of three and a half months the Texas inquisitor decided to say he was sorry.

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But in saying so, he said more. He admitted that his committee was willing to publish charges against a person without inquiry, without proof, without a hearing, without even bothering to check the spelling of the victim's name. He admitted it was willing to demand that person's dismissal or resignation on such flimsy grounds. He admitted, in total effect, that the methods of the committee which has pilloried hundreds of decent, patriotic citizens are as shoddy as they are vicious, a fantastic waste of the people's money, a flagrant violation of the most elementary civil rights. All that is implicit in Mr. Dies's unctuous apology to the one man he wronged who was in a position to sue him for libel.

What he did not say, but what lies just behind the language of retraction, is something like this: "Listen, old man. No offense intended. You see I didn't know you used to be a banker and I hadn't an idea you would sue. This Communist-front business is all the bunk anyhow. My chief investigator was one of those fellow-travelers himself once. That's not the point. I say 'Communist' just like Hitler does. All it means is democrat—small *d*—or liberal. What's the use of checking up whether a guy's a Communist or not when all you want to do is smear a New Dealer? But next time I'll watch my step. Either I'll hide behind Congressional privilege when I name names or I'll make sure my man can't hit back. This is politics, not justice."

But Time Runs Short

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The great German drive to the east, with its gathering momentum, threatens to split the central and southern Red armies apart, gain the Volga at the great industrial city of Stalingrad . . . seal that waterway and other supply lines from the United Nations to the Russians, and conquer the oil riches of the Caucasus itself.—Associated Press dispatch, July 14.

I SHALL never forget the anguish with which the Honorable Member for X—— asked me, in March, 1939, whether England could still do anything to save Spain. It was just ten days after the government had left the Central Zone and seven days before Franco entered Madrid. I had flown to London to see how many ships we could charter to take out Loyalists who otherwise would be dragged before a firing squad. The question whispered into my ear when I had finished addressing a hundred members of the House of Commons was so astonishing that I made inquiries about the personality of my interlocutor. He was a Conservative who for three years had understood nothing of what was going on in Spain, who had believed Franco could be "handled" through a British loan, who had applauded Chamberlain at Munich, and who now suddenly realized with horror that the victory of Hitler in Spain meant war for England and for the world. I was told that for three days he had walked like a somnambulist through the corridors of Westminster demanding that the British fleet be sent to Spain and asking why the French did not mobilize at once.

I cannot help recalling, in these days, that tardy savior who appeared when the zero hour was past, and I ask myself whether in the fall of 1942 we may not see another somnambulist full of despair because we allowed Russia to be smashed without our having fulfilled the promise of a second front.

And the promise was made. It was not formulated in an emotional moment of a Parliamentary debate. It was announced, officially and solemnly, by the two highest leaders of the United Nations at their last meeting in Washington. Nobody could doubt the determination of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill to carry out their word. One is as shrewd a politician as the other, but both are men of an immense sense of responsibility and with too much respect for the peoples of the earth to try to play politics with one of the few remaining possibilities of winning the war. Everybody took the announcement as a settled decision.

Moreover, the promise to open a new western front in 1942 was made after an entire session in Washington devoted to the shipping problem. Both leaders, having listened to the experts, apparently agreed that, with more or fewer ships, an invasion of the Continent was going to be attempted because there was no other alternative to general disaster. And it is interesting to notice that in the very impressive and well-documented analysis of Ships and New Fronts in the last issue of *The Nation* Paul Maxwell Zeis, while emphasizing the paucity of shipping at present, wrote: "If the war is to be won, it seems certain that a second front must be established in Western Europe to take the pressure off the Russians in the east."

Russia is fighting at this moment better than ever. Its retreat is marked by greater heroism, more admirable resolution, than many a spectacular advance. But if Russia is fighting like this, it is partly because it takes seriously the British-American promise of a second front—because it waits from one day to the next for a new front to be opened. That is clear in the quotations from the Russian press, in the official broadcasts, in the orders of the day issued by the Red Army chiefs, in the calm confidence with which the Russian soldiers are dying—for all of us.

But time runs short. For the second front to accomplish its task of relief there is a very limited margin of time. Perhaps six weeks, no more. Or must we witness again the spectacle of a delayed—and useless—awakening to reality such as overwhelmed my British M. P. when Spain was already crushed?

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The Nile and the Don

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE late Sir John Fisher, First Lord of the Admiralty during those critical years which preceded the first World War, was an acid critic of the British military and naval system. Commenting on the promotion of well-born but mediocre men to high places, he predicted, "Some day the British Empire will fall because 'it's Juggens's turn.'"

A third of a century later his prediction is being borne out. When the London *Mirror* a year ago began examining the Juggenses and Colonel Blimps of the British army, criticism of the military was promptly prohibited. A few months afterward the Japanese at Hongkong, in Malaya, and in Burma were proving the full justice of the *Mirror's* strictures. But the British army's defenders, overlooking the lack of vision and intelligent preparation in the High Command, could still plead lack of numbers or, in a few cases, as in Crete, where they had numerical superiority, point to enemy preponderance in the air.

In Libya the empire's forces had neither of these handicaps. A British army 11 per cent superior in numbers, 40 per cent stronger in tanks, 60 per cent better in artillery, and at least twice as strong in the air, operating closer to its base of supplies, suffered decisive defeat. We do not know all the details of the battle or of the subsequent rally in the shadows of Alexandria. But it is apparent that the Germans "surprised" their foe with a type of anti-tank gun which they had used in every major campaign of the war and with better tanks than the American products being sent to the British. More important, they showed far better coordination between air force and ground troops, better planes for such work, a faster repair service, better tactics, more offensive drive, and infinitely superior leadership. The lack of a unified command for the Army of the Nile was especially disastrous. In the crucial fight at Bir Hacheim which started the British collapse, the much stronger R. A. F. allowed the German dive bombers a field day. On the fatal day of June 13, when adequate cooperation between aerial reconnaissance and ground forces would have prevented the slaughter of British tanks and the consequent loss of Tobruk, there was still no sign of ability to work together. But the strategic results of the Battle of Eastern Libya are of less importance than the demonstration that nearly three years of defeat have not sufficed to teach the British High Command certain of this war's more elementary lessons. Nor are we ourselves in a position to criticize the British unduly, for we have made many of the same blunders. Our potential advantage in manpower and wealth is worth nothing unless it is used to win. We can't go on forever on the assurance that success is just around the corner.

At the time of writing, the outcome of the Middle Eastern struggle is still uncertain. The United Nations have given up large areas of desert not in themselves vital, but have also suffered serious losses in men and material. Their dominance of the eastern Mediterranean, for some months extremely shaky, has been weakened by the enemy's capture of sites for advanced air bases, and the conquest of Alexandria would bring it to an end. Nevertheless, the Germans have by no means won the campaign for the Middle East. Increasingly long lines of communication through difficult country, much inferior air power, and the British resolve to make a bitter, last-ditch stand still block the way to a complete German triumph. Actually a continued thrust by Rommel holds less danger than the possibility that the effort to stop him may have so weakened the British forces in Syria and Palestine that a German thrust through those countries by either sea or air would meet little resistance.

Americans have been slow to appreciate the vital importance of the Middle East in the present war. Alexandria is now the only major Allied naval base between England and Hawaii. German success in gaining the oil resources of Iran and Iraq would not only greatly ease Hitler's difficult supply problem but force the United Nations to bring their own oil from sources as distant from Europe as Texas, Venezuela, and California.

Russian defeats at Kerch and Kharkov have been serious, as was the earlier loss of Sevastopol. The latter was the one large naval base remaining in Russian hands, and with its fall the Soviets lost their last toehold on the Crimea. On the other hand, the Germans paid a high price for all these early gains, and even their capture of Sevastopol does not eliminate the small but extremely troublesome Black Sea fleet, which can use secondary bases farther east and so continue to discourage a seaborne invasion of the Caucasus.

Not only the large German losses but the character of the early fighting seemed propitious for the United Nations' cause. For two months German efforts to cut through Timoshenko's defenses in depth and to force resumption of fighting along the lines of the earlier war of movement failed utterly. Apparently the Germans were to be forced to wage a war of attrition, the one

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kind of war that Hitler, facing new threats in the west, could not afford to wage. This encouraging outlook was altered by the German break-through at Kursk, which endangers the last of the north-south communication lines back of the Soviet front and also threatens with encirclement and destruction the armies directly north and south of the break-through. Everything now depends on the Russian reaction. If the Soviets are able to prevent further gains, then only territory has been lost. But unless the check is quickly applied, the Germans, despite the formidable obstacles of man-power and terrain still to be overcome, may be able to reach their goal in the Caucasus before the end of the summer.

In the event of this worst possible outcome, what chance will remain for the victory of the United Nations? Opportunities will have been greatly reduced, but some will still exist. According to the Russians, the industrial resources needed to support war, including oil, will be available farther north and east. This view is shared by those Americans who have had the most intimate recent acquaintance with Soviet economy. Loss of the Caucasus would, of course, close the Persian Gulf transportation line to Russia and diminish the flow of reinforcements to the U. S. S. R. But it is certain that the Soviet scorched-earth policy would leave no easy task for German reconstruction. It is believed by our service heads that the Nazis would require at least a year to exploit Soviet resources effectively. The loss of the Caucasus, therefore, unless it is accompanied by German conquest of the oil wells of Iran and Iraq, will by no means entail the loss of the war. Everything depends on the continued activity of the Russian armies. As long as the Soviets still have sufficient industrial resources to carry on a war and the Red armies remain in being, Russia can continue to trade even valuable territory for time.

But will the time gained at such enormous cost bring relief? Anyone can see that the miracles which are being achieved on American production lines can never bring victory while we are still losing three vessels to every two completed—despite the greatest turnout of new shipping known to history. Until we win the battle off our own Atlantic Coast we shall not be able to carry troops and supplies in great quantities to Europe.

This fact, however, does not eliminate all chance of an A. E. F. in the near future. In areas remote from the center of German power, such as Norway, we may be able to undertake partial offensives with fair chance of success. But we must here face the fact that limited offensives have only a limited nuisance value. A campaign that relieved pressure on Russia and bought time, even if it were unsuccessful and costly, might show a greater profit in the ledger of the entire war.

A vital question is to what extent the large-scale British air raids are a substitute for a new military front. The strategic purpose served by current air warfare is at least threefold. A limited but vocal group of aviation enthusiasts believe that air power has attained such primacy in war that persistent raids on enemy industry can bring about victory, or at least inflict ruin so great that a later mopping-up campaign on land would easily win the war. Most military critics refuse to go so far, but see air attack as a necessary prelude to an invasion attempt by land forces and as a means of establishing beachheads, blasting supporting war industries, and demoralizing civilians. Used as diversions, these raids are intended to be so damaging as to force withdrawal of important units of the Luftwaffe to meet a growing threat in the west. If in the process of meeting this threat the Luftwaffe can be enticed aloft and there destroyed, another step will have been taken toward ultimate Allied victory.

While we do not have the evidence upon which to base more than a tentative judgment, the attainment of all these objectives looks at least doubtful. There can be no question of the military and economic value of such cities as Bremen, Essen, and Cologne. But these are the easiest targets in Germany. The more distant centers—Berlin, Vienna, the Skoda Works at Pilsen, and Leipzig—have been almost untouched. They can only be bombed at a heavier cost of gasoline and casualties than the attackers have thus far been willing to pay. Even the damage done by such attacks is uncertain. Early estimates had five-sevenths of Cologne destroyed, but later reports based on aerial photographs reduced the estimate of the gutted area to one-eighth. Finally, the weak aerial resistance offered by the Germans and their slight attempts at reprisals argue that the attacks themselves have not done enough injury to compel any heavy concentration of the Luftwaffe in Western Europe. The Germans, in short, still have their eyes on the main front in Russia. No one in authority believes that aerial warfare over Europe has yet reached its height. American reinforcements based on both England and the Middle East should soon double the severity of the attacks. Nevertheless, air power today is neither winning the war single-handed nor affording much relief to the Russians.

A survey of the European war fronts, therefore, reveals much that is disappointing but little that was not expected by our more realistic war critics. Japan's conquests turned it into a "have" power in about six months. Germany's have not yet done so, but are now threatening areas of such enormous strategic importance that some authorities regard their ownership as essential to Allied victory. No immediate improvement in our strategic situation in Europe, except in the air, is to be looked for. If we win this summer's struggle in these vital areas it will be because existing lines are able to hold. As long as we are not winning the Battle of the Atlantic, we shall be unable to replace those elements of strength that are even now being lost along the Don.

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Keep Them Out!

V. SENATOR W. LEE O'DANIEL OF TEXAS

BY WILLSON WHITMAN

WITH Texas fliers, Texas tank and submarine crews, and miscellaneous Texans from generals to mess boys conspicuous on all fighting fronts, it is a little embarrassing to realize that one of the two Texans in the Senate is a composer of radio commercials who voted against extending the draft "eighteen months, six months, or one day." Hope that the pending primary will assist in the removal of Senator W. Lee O'Daniel from Washington is making the political summer in Texas a warm one.

Senator O'Daniel is not actively against the war in the way a Bund member would be; he just doesn't want to think about it. To his campaign audiences he says, "There ain't gonna be no gasoline rationing in Texas, we ain't gonna lose this war, and there ain't gonna be no run-off"—meaning by the last the second primary due in August if the Senator fails to win a majority of the votes cast on July 25. Thus Senator O'Daniel is on record as willing to win the war against the Axis if it can be done without inconvenience to Texas oil operators. But he goes on to say, with fervor, that the *real* war is against "these wild-eyed labor-leader racketeers."

Unlike some other anti-labor members of Congress, who declared a truce on the home front in order to win the war abroad, the junior Senator from Texas is convinced that it is as important to break up the C. I. O. as to bomb Tokyo. Before Pearl Harbor, in a speech at the Dallas fair on September 7, 1941, he said the war had two fronts. "On one front we must guard to keep the dictators of the Old World from being able through force to control the affairs of our nation and to implant on our shores all of those foreign isms—Nazism, communism, and fascism"; on the second front we must guard against substitution of "a socialized system of business" for the American system of free enterprise. When he spoke in Washington three weeks later, he had reached the conclusion that of these two fronts the second was the more important—"as great a menace as, if not greater than, the threat of war." For, he explained, if foreign war should come, "we would win it, and after our victory we could all return to our usual domestic affairs under the same form of democracy we have always enjoyed. But if labor-union-leader racketeering is not stopped, our democracy will perish." To the Senator this was "the most serious problem confronting the nation."

The shooting war has not altered these sentiments; O'Daniel is making substantially the same speech in the Texas campaign, and the parents, sweethearts, and wives of fighting Texans are reported to be rolling up their sleeves and readying their poll-tax receipts to reply. The well-to-do Texans who do the voting (it costs $1.75 per person per year), not being ardent supporters of the forty-hour week, might not bother to oppose the Senator on the labor issue, but the war is different. You can't talk against the war or minimize its importance in Texas; besides sending its boys in impressive numbers, the state is booming with war industries.

It is hard to see how Lee O'Daniel happened to overlook either the psychological or the financial point. His rapid rise in politics—his career started four years ago when he won the governorship and was advanced by the death of Morris Sheppard, which provided a Senate vacancy—can be explained only by his high rating as a radio promoter, first of flour and then of W. Lee O'Daniel. Described as "the kind of salesman who could sell iceboxes in Labrador or snowshoes on the Equator," O'Daniel merited the praise when he sold himself as a statesman. To do it he had to be a good psychologist, vocally favoring home, mother, old folks, flowers, and religion. How does it happen that he fails to wave the flag? Nor is he an innocent babe in business. Rather than flour salesman, he prefers to be called a successful business man or small manufacturer, though he manufactures not flour but markets—for the "Hillbilly" brand, the product of General Mills. Surely it doesn't take much business gumption to see the new war factories all over Texas.

However, war industries don't advertise, and there perhaps you have it. O'Daniel is an advertising man, with all the glibness of a short commercial broadcast but without the basic horse sense even of a Huey Long, who did after all grow up among the Louisiana rednecks he bamboozled. O'Daniel is a phony manufacturer—a jobber, not a producer. He is a phony Texan—the author of the song "Beautiful Texas" was born in Ohio and raised in Kansas. He is a phony "old Southerner," sounding as if he wore a goatee, frock coat, and string tie but actually, like Martin Dies and Joe Starnes, a second-growth Chamber of Commerce Southerner. He is, of course, a phony New Dealer; after writing a song entitled "On to Victory, Mr. President," and

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pledging—three times—"one hundred per cent support" of the President, he voted against the Administration at the first opportunity. It happened to be the vote on extension of the draft.

Huey was disarmingly natural; Lee is admittedly slick—he is the first Senator to pose for publicity pictures with one eye screwed up in a wink. As an old-time Austin politician puts it, he is an *unnecessary* liar. And in time of crisis that isn't smart.

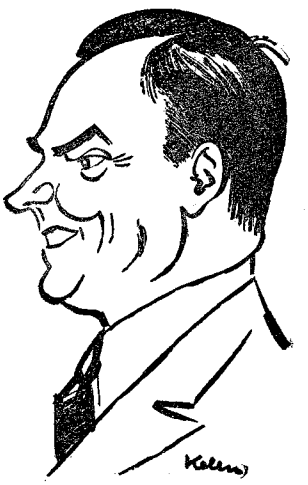
He has, of course, the support that is always available for a man who can get elected to office while openly working for low wages, anti-strike laws, and all the other reactionary goals. As governor of Texas, his main achievement was the passing of a state law which in effect forbids picketing; he puffed the law to Northern manufacturers in a sales letter which promised prison for strikers and ended with "I feel proud to have led the fight for this kind of legislation." However, he was unable to get the Texas law through Congress as an irrelevant amendment to other legislation or to win votes for an open-shop amendment to the Constitution. The O'Daniel tactics are pretty crude even for the Dies-Cox-Byrd machine.

As a member of a special committee on the oil shortage, Senator O'Daniel succeeded in preventing or at least postponing construction of the pipe line favored by Secretary Ickes. Ordinarily insistent on selling oil, hot or cold, Texas interests opposed the pipe line, the Senator carefully explained, because it might be used after the war for siphoning out natural gas. Actually of course they were fighting Ickes, with whom they have long had a feud. O'Daniel's service to the utilities goes back to the time when as governor he vetoed legislation that would have permitted Texas cities to build municipal power plants.

The opposition to O'Daniel is sincere but divided; there were eleven candidates against him in his first race for governor, twenty-seven in the Senate race last year. This time it centers in two other ex-governors of Texas, James V. Allred and Dan Moody. Allred, who resigned a federal judgeship to make the campaign, has Administration backing; but it must be remembered that in Texas Administration support means "Jesse Jones's money," and there are those in Texas as elsewhere who regard the Jones influence with a jaundiced eye. Some Texans insist that "outside interference" harmed instead of helped the deserving Lyndon Johnson in his effort to defeat O'Daniel last year. As governor, Allred was unable to effect any New Deal reforms in Texas. He had, of course, strenuous opposition from business, which organized "tax marches" and played an obstructionist game, but some New Dealers felt that Allred himself wasn't equal to the governor's job.

Dan Moody has played a lone hand in Texas politics but has no defeats against him. He started as a boy wonder, the reform candidate who first defied the Klan and later ousted the famous Ferguson gubernatorial team. Back in 1928, when Jesse Jones brought the Democratic convention to Houston, Moody was talked of as a running mate for Al Smith. But Moody, opposing "Ma" Ferguson, also opposed the Texas brewery interests which were prominent in the Smith repeal forces, and Moody support simply didn't mix with Smith and Jones. Moody left politics for the law, in which he has done well—incidentally serving the federal government in its prosecution of the Long machine in Louisiana.

Persons outside the state who feel that Moody is "too good" to be a strong candidate perhaps underestimate the Texas respect for virtue. O'Daniel and Allred both lean heavily on church support, and as Sheppard's successor in Washington O'Daniel has had to make half-hearted proposals to bar liquor from army camps. Nobody takes this effort seriously, and it has been openly charged that Texas brewers and distillers helped send O'Daniel to Washington. But lip-service to some form of temperance is by no means the handicap in Texas politics that it would be elsewhere, partly because of the people's fundamental morality and partly because Texas brewers have long financed corrupt voting. (It was the San Antonio brewers who defeated Maury Maverick, no prohibitionist.) In the last war the fact that the brewers were German made possible a wave of political reform. It could happen again; and in the appeal to respectability Moody has the advantage of sincerity.



Senator O'Daniel

The war issue, the important one, finds both Allred and Moody able to make a good showing against O'Daniel. Allred was in the navy, Moody in the army, during the last war, and both are unequivocal about this one. O'Daniel's anti-draft stand has alienated even the Texas Townsendites. His own win-the-war program, as presented to Congress, has eleven points: "(1) encourage individual prayer twice daily; (2) stop all non-essential government spending; (3) provide proper defense protection for civilians promptly; (4) outlaw force and violence in labor disputes; (5) give union and non-union men equal opportunity to work on jobs; (6) tax war profits 100 per cent and give half the tax to discharged soldiers when the war ends; (7) remove all farm planting restrictions; (8) restrict price-fixing to retail sales; (9) open immediately new reservoirs of raw materials; (10) cancel immediately all draft deferments of labor

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racketeers and other privileged classes; (11) abolish booze on army and navy reservations until the war is won." With the demagoguery taken at its face value, it still appears that these proposals—in effect, to abolish relief, the closed shop, and crop control, impede price fixing, and release hot oil—have to do with winning, not the World War, but O'Daniel's "most serious" war, the one against labor and the New Deal.

Texas war heroes are, of course, hailed by O'Daniel, who argues endlessly that the "boys in Bataan" and elsewhere were betrayed "because labor refused to manufacture the planes and material they needed over there." Confronted with figures on war production, he brushes them aside: "I do not think the people are interested a great deal in the statistics showing such a small percentage of strikes to be in existence at the present time, or that such a few man-hours are being lost, because those statistics will not help General MacArthur in his fight for freedom in Australia; those statistics will not help the cause in any way." This typical O'Daniel utterance, followed by the claim "I believe I have as good a labor record as any member of the Senate," has not fooled Texas labor. The unions are against "Pappy" with a unanimity that in any other state would insure his defeat.

But it is necessary to remember that because of the poll tax Texas elections are controlled by the people who can afford to vote. O'Daniel's anti-labor speeches bring him fan letters galore from Texas Chambers of Commerce, Lion, Kiwanis, and Rotary clubs, the D. A. R., bankers, and employers who hope to see strikes prohibited. That part of Texas labor which is able to vote has so far refrained from a choice between Allred and Moody, both of whom indorse Administration policies. The Moody platform, it is true, questions the wisdom of the forty-hour week in defense industries, but so does such a staunch Southern New Dealer as Senator Pepper. Three instructors in economics at the University of Texas have just lost their jobs because they spoke in support of the wage-hour law.

Northern guessers at the result of Texas elections, instead of counting union strength, might well give some attention to church support. O'Daniel and Allred are both members of the Christian Church and will therefore split that vote. Moody is a Baptist, and in Texas there are three times as many Baptists as members of the Christian Church.

Taking a look at those statistics which the Senator so despises, we find that in the last election, in which a majority was not required, he won with 175,368 votes. Lyndon Johnson was a close second with 175,273, and the charge was freely made that he was counted out; State Attorney General Mann polled 140,853; and Martin Dies trailed fourth with 80,601. To estimate the real O'Daniel strength we should add his vote to that of Dies, their appeal to ignorance being identical; but this gives a total of only 225,969 votes against the 315,126 polled by the others. In the coming primary Allred and Moody can divide the opposing vote without giving O'Daniel the required majority of votes cast; this will force a second primary in which the anti-O'Daniel forces will unite.

Another figure may be significant. At a recent anti-O'Daniel meeting in Austin two-thirds of the large audience had relatives in the fighting services.

How to Talk to Hitler's Europe

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

THE men and women who challenge death in underground activities in Europe perform a task of tremendous importance. They keep alive among their people a flame of daring and sacrifice. They prevent the moral conscience of their fellows from going to sleep. They keep the police in a permanent state of suspicion and anger, without rest, compelled to strike at random and so to increase the disgust and discontent. They force judges to disgrace themselves by passing obviously unjust sentences. They create in members of the ruling group the disheartening sensation that they are isolated and insecure in a hostile country.

But let us not delude ourselves into hoping that they can stage an all-out revolution for our benefit. The collapse of the Second Empire in France in September, 1870, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Austrian and German revolutions in 1918—all were the aftermath of military defeats. Only when the armed forces have disintegrated, or at least when the army chiefs have discredited themselves to such an extent that they can no longer rely upon their own soldiers for repression, does a serious revolutionary uprising become technically possible. I was dismayed when I read that the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, on May 8 had urged the German people over the radio to overthrow Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime.

I also question the wisdom of urging Europeans in our own short-wave radio broadcasts to carry out acts of sabotage, strikes, or assassinations. We hope they will do so, naturally. But a man who, sitting safely before a

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microphone in America, tells people six thousand miles away that they should risk prison or death has very little chance of evoking a suitable response. He is more likely to arouse ridicule if not contempt. Men and women engaged in illegal activities on the spot do not need to be told what to do. They already know, and they do it on their own initiative and at their own risk. At the most I would, without comment, broadcast news of what is being done elsewhere; so that persons who wish to may apply other people's ingenuity. But misinformation or overstatement should be especially avoided. Any news which may be successfully contradicted is harmful.

Instead of dreaming of revolutions which are impossible as long as the United Nations' military power is unable to match Hitler's, and instead of asking the peoples of Europe to face deadly risks without adequate support from us, we should offer them a line of hope which of their own free will they will eagerly seize upon, even at the risk of their lives.

The longer this war continues the more the populations of the Continent will be tormented by starvation. We in America do not know what starvation means. When I see the waste of foodstuffs, for instance of butter, which still goes on everywhere, I am horrified. European starvation should be used as a weapon in this war, as well as an instrument of international policy during the immediate post-war period. The Germans and the Italians, and let us include the French as well, should be told that if, when the time is ripe, they cooperate to the best of their ability in the common fight against Hitler and Mussolini and Pétain they will receive the same treatment as the peoples of the Allied nations. Whoever is the last to move will be the last to be helped. And whoever does not move cannot expect help.

We must not confine ourselves to words; we must show that we mean what we say. It is not difficult to make an estimate of what each country of Europe will need during the six months or the first year after hostilities have stopped. While the war goes on, the government of the United States should start storing supplies for the immediate post-war period. North American production will be unable to meet the needs. South America should be brought in. Economic interests would thus be created in South America which would link those countries to the United States and Canada better than the empty words of politicians and diplomats. A few weeks ago we were informed that the United States was bolstering the economics of Latin America by buying and storing its coffee, cocoa, and bananas (New York *Times*, May 9). I have no dislike for coffee, cocoa, or bananas; but they belong to defensive economic warfare. If we want to shift to the offensive, both in economic and in political warfare, we must store wheat, meat, and condensed milk. And as this work goes on —in fact and not on paper—full information as to its progress and purpose should be broadcast to Europe.

But the promise of rewards to come is only half the story. If nobody in Germany or Italy is to pay for the present tragedy, I do not know how those countries can be made to realize, once and for all, that aggression is a costly game which must not be played again. This does not mean that we should threaten everybody indiscriminately with reprisals; nor should we shroud our intentions in mystery. Our method should be to drive a wedge between the great masses of the German and Italian populations, which should be left alone, and their leaders, who should suffer the most ruthless treatment—and should be told so in advance.

We should announce that while we do not regard all Germans as responsible for the shooting of hostages, we do hold responsible the Nazi party leaders, the army chiefs, the ambassadors, and all other high officials. Therefore, when the war is over, as many German higher-ups will be shot as there have been hostages murdered; and we shall not waste time in court trials. The mere fact that one is a responsible official in the Nazi civil or military administration will be sufficient ground for indictment, conviction, and execution. At the same time the property of all persons in the higher economic brackets will be confiscated in order to compensate those outside Germany whose homes and businesses have been looted. The same message should be delivered to the Italians also.

These promises of ruthless punishment to be meted out to the upper strata of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy should not be made by radio commentators without governmental standing. They should be solemnly decided upon by the British Parliament, the American Congress, and the governments of all the other United Nations. Official committees should be set up to list the persons, starting with those at the top, who will be executed, or expropriated, or both when the war is over, and the names of those persons should be broadcast. The German and Italian peoples should be told that they are fighting, not in order to protect themselves from reprisals which nobody plans against them, but because Hitler and Goebbels and Himmler and Ribbentrop and Generals So-and-So want to save their skins and their property. We should revive the slogan of the French Revolution, "War to the palaces and peace to the hamlets."

In my opinion broadcasts such as those given by Sir Robert Vansittart at the end of 1940, which were handed down to posterity in the booklet "Black Record," can only foster among the Germans the persuasion that they are all in the same boat and all indiscriminately marked out for British vengeance. From the political standpoint these broadcasts were grist for Dr. Goebbels's propaganda mill. Any sensible man can judge for himself what impact Sir Robert's words must have had upon

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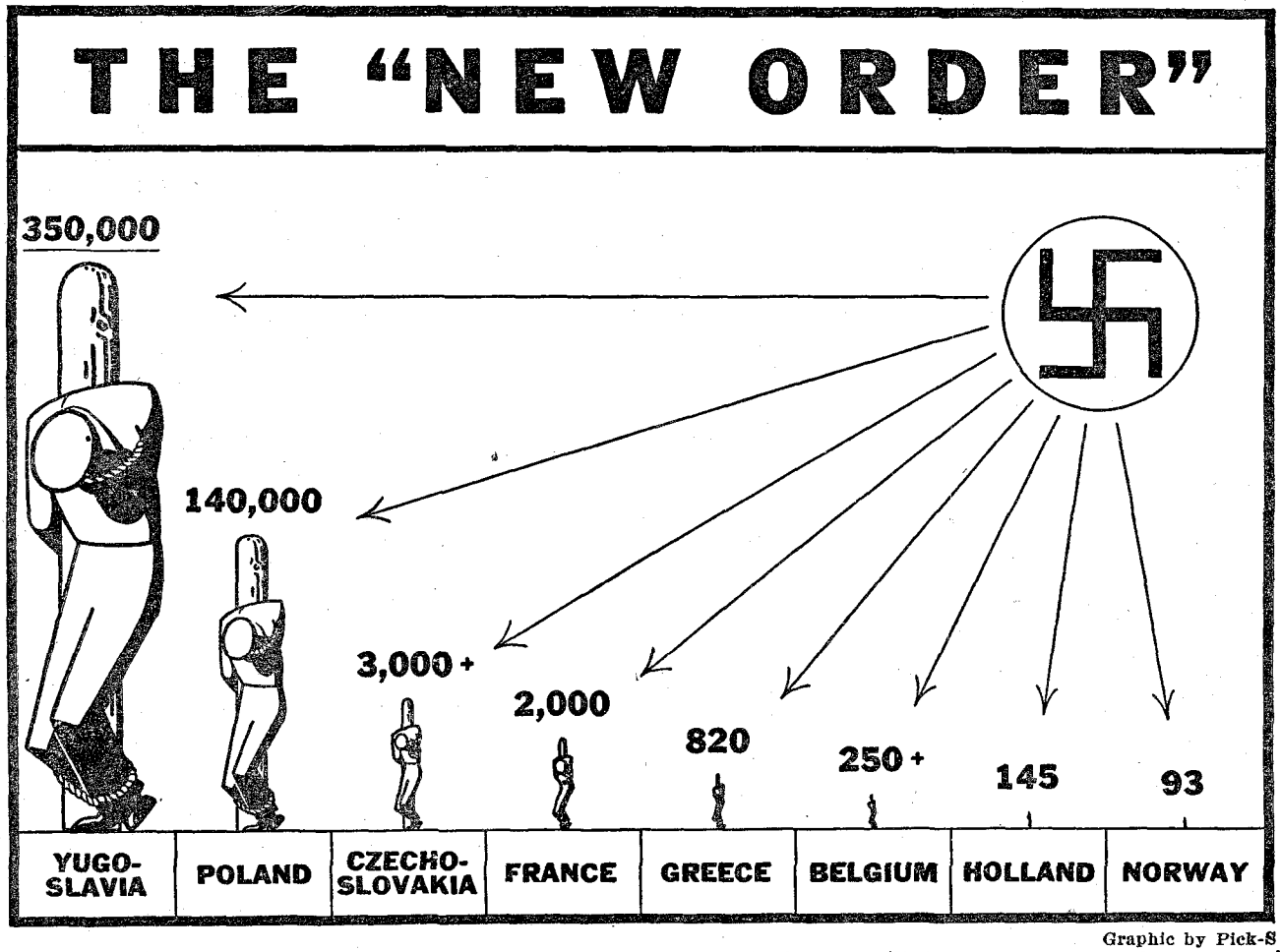
the minds not merely of the out-and-out Nazis but also of those Germans who hate the Nazis and would do anything they could to get rid of them. If we condemn, hate, and insult all Germans without distinction, and if we discourage those among them who are willing to work with us, the only course left to us will be to destroy the whole or the majority of the German population, or at least to divide Germany into tiny fragments. This is, in fact, the conclusion Dr. Goebbels was logically entitled to draw from Sir Robert's broadcasts, and it is on the basis of this conclusion that he is beating the drum of German national unity.

To avoid misunderstanding, let me state that nothing was more opportune than Mr. Churchill's announcement that "whatever we have to take, we will take, and we will give it back in even greater measure. We can play rough too." These manly words befit the virile leader of a virile people. We are at war, and nobody can expect British or American bombers to discriminate between "bad" and "good" Germans. And when the Nazi system breaks down, we must be prepared for news of harsh happenings in Germany and all the occupied countries. Terrible waves of revenge will be released, and innocent people will pay for the guilty. But when the governments-in-exile officially announced from London that for the "acts of violence" perpetrated against civilian populations in occupied countries everybody would be held accountable who had "ordered, perpetrated, or in any way participated in" them (official communiqué of January 13, 1942), they were thinking not of the war period or of the immediate post-war crisis, about which nobody can hazard any calculations, but of the resettlement period, which will be controlled by the victorious governments. Since all German soldiers in occupied countries have in one way or another "participated in acts of violence against the civilian population," this communiqué threatened a large part of the German people. And in case this braggadocio were not sufficient, the Germans were also officially told that the punishment would be meted out "through the channels of organized justice." One wonders how many prisons will be needed to house the millions of Germans awaiting trial and how many thousand judges will be needed to try them. These futile threats help Dr. Goebbels for the time being in his propaganda for national unity.

The methods used in dealing with Italy are even more fantastic. In December, 1940, Mr. Churchill told the Italian people that Mussolini, while admittedly a



Graphic by Pick-S

The Office of Facts and Figures has recently published estimates made by the Allied governments of the results of German occupation in the conquered countries. The figures given above are for the number of persons killed by the occupation forces.

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"great man," had alone brought Italy to the brink of ruin. A more unfortunate statement could hardly have been devised. Mussolini could not have brought to ruin more than forty million people had he not found accomplices and partisans among them. The anti-Fascists in Italy were dismayed. Apparently the British Tories were prepared to sell the Italian people down the river to Mussolini's accomplices and partisans provided these partisans threw overboard Mussolini himself. As for the Fascists, they were entitled to think that if Mussolini had been a "great man" until he disturbed the British Tories, he must still be a "great man," even if the British Tories no longer liked him.

It seems that Mr. Churchill expected a revolution in Italy as a consequence of his address. Since it did not materialize, the British Ministry of Information discovered, during the summer of 1941, that all Italians, and not merely "one man," were responsible for Italy's being at war with England, and thereupon decided that a distinction should no longer be made between Italians and Fascists.

Aside from the historical falseness of its position, the British Ministry of Information was devoid of political common sense. The folly of this approach was shown by the way Mussolini was able to take advantage of it. One reads in the Manchester *Guardian* of March 9, 1942:

> The Nazi theme "Hate Britain" was followed by Fascist propaganda rather uneasily and then abandoned. More successful must have been the reverse slogan, "The British hate you all," which has become the most consistent of all propaganda trends. Private letters to British newspapers suggesting that no real difference could be made between Italy and the Fascist regime have been eagerly quoted by Italian broadcasters. And Gayda in the *Giornale d'Italia* of January 30 wrote: "We note the mood of British propaganda—the British nation against all Italians. The Italians must at last understand that the English traditional friendship for them, for their national cause and their country, never existed." While the propagandists are stressing this theme they carefully conceal any remark from this side which may discriminate between Italy and Fascism.

We have other happy devices for helping Mussolini. Italians who know only their own language are told by American radio stations, in Italian, that their soldiers were right when they refused to fight in Albania and in Libya. But those who understand French or Spanish hear in other broadcasts, given in French or Spanish, that all Italians are cowards and know only how to run away.

During his recent visit to Washington Mr. Churchill said that Mussolini had "inflicted great sufferings and wrongs upon his industrious people." Let us hope that these words were in his speech not by accident but with a purpose, and that they indicate a new and sounder policy in our political warfare against Mussolini. Multiplying facilities for our enemies and difficulties for our friends should no more be the effect than it is the purpose of political warfare.

In the Wind

LAST WEEK two gossip columnists reported that Westbrook Pegler had been seen at the Stork Club with James C. Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, a "unioneer" who has been the victim of some of Pegler's most bitter invective. Two days after the reported meeting Pegler published what was probably his first column in praise of a trade union, or at least in justification of a well-known and widely condemned trade-union practice. He defended the right of professional musicians to force the use of paid "stand-bys"—that is, musicians who are paid but do not play at entertainments where the music is provided by amateurs.

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL, an editor of *Fortune* and one of Wendell Willkie's principal advisers on foreign affairs, is seeking the Republican nomination for Representative from a western Massachusetts district.

LIDICE is pronounced Lee'-dee-tsa.

JOSEPH A. BOWER, executive vice-president of the Chemical Bank and Trust Company of New York, is a candidate for United States Senator from New Jersey. Documents submitted to the Dies committee last year include a memorandum to Berlin written by a Nazi agent, Dr. F. A. Kertes, which reported a meeting in 1940 between Bower and Kertes. Kertes at that time was discussing with business men the possibility of American investments in post-war Germany. According to the memorandum, Bower was willing to cooperate; his only complaint against Germany, he told Kertes, was that his bank did not get much German business.

AT A FOURTH OF JULY meeting at Woodstock, New York, Professor James T. Shotwell delivered an address. He spoke eloquently of the thin lines of heroes holding back the enemy on many fronts—Americans, British, Free French, Chinese. But there was no word of appreciation for the Russians, or even any hint in the speech that the U. S. S. R. was fighting on our side.

A SEAMAN returned from South America tells this story of what one German did to another when a British warship sank a Nazi freighter and rescued its crew. When the men were brought aboard, one of them spied a fire ax on the British boat. He seized it and drove it deep into the skull of one of his crew mates. "A Gestapo man," he said to the Britishers who had tried in vain to hold him back.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

IT IS not exactly news, especially to writers, that literary production declines in time of war; but W. W. Norton, the publisher, cited fresh evidence of the tendency in a speech he made a few weeks ago at the convention of the American Booksellers' Association. The spring catalogues of the British publishers, he said, showed an extraordinary increase in the number and proportion of books by American authors. "This is no question of supply of paper available for books; it is a question of supply of manuscripts. For it is perfectly obvious that there are just not enough books of British authorship available after two and a half years of war." He looks for a similar shortage of material here, basing his prediction not only on recent British experience but on the record of the last war. (In 1917 about 10,000 titles were published in this country; in 1919 the number had fallen to about 8,500, and as Mr. Norton pointed out, the First World War was neither total nor revolutionary as this one is.)

It goes almost without saying that writers whose stock in trade consists of values rather than facts—that is, novelists, poets, dramatists, and critics, both social and literary—are the first casualties. It is no accident that the drama critics of New York awarded no prize this year, and at least one of the big annual fiction competitions has been called off for lack of sufficient good material. The reasons are both objective and subjective. Even if a writer has not been drawn into military service or an office of information and even if he can command the necessary working conditions—three meals a day and a dry place to sleep, time and relative quiet—there is no way of avoiding the disturbing influence of war on the mind and the emotions; and the more sensitive the writer, the greater the disturbance is likely to be. He labors under another difficulty. In peace time he tends to be regarded as a privileged yet non-essential citizen; in war time his vocation is regarded more than ever as a luxury trade—despite the fact that he is a chief carrier of the cultural values which are, in the present conflict, presumed to be a major issue. Given this public attitude, the writer himself, who shares the general compulsion to take an active part in the fight on which his own survival depends, may easily come to the questionable conclusion that a mediocre soldier is more useful than a good book.

The ironical part of it is that all reports coming from Britain, as Mr. Norton also points out, indicate an increase in the demand for books; and it would seem that the kind of books people want to read in war time are the very type least likely to get written, for in England at least there has been a definite return to the classics—the creative writing of earlier periods. Yet the only writers in Britain who have any status are the journalists. Journalism is a "reserved" occupation, and in this country newspaper correspondents have acquired so much prestige as authors that almost any batch of dispatches can pass muster as a book.

Mr. Norton would discover confirmation of his findings as to the shortage of manuscripts by British authors, particularly non-journalists, in a manifesto issued in behalf of young writers in the British armed forces and other war activities and printed in the October issue of the English literary monthly *Horizon*. It addressed itself boldly to the whole question of the creative writer and his role in war time. "Creative writers, poets, novelists, and dramatists," it stated, "have a skill, imagination, and human understanding which must be utilized as fully as the skill of journalists." Yet "as things are, . . . writer after writer is called up, or seeing no possibility of using his special talents in the interest of his country, has volunteered for war service." The manifesto demanded that creative writers be given the same facilities as journalists and be "used to interpret the war world so that cultural unity is reestablished and war effort emotionally coordinated." It advocated the international exchange of writers among the United Nations and the "formation of an official group of war writers."

I agree with the diagnosis; I'm skeptical about the cure. I might be in favor of exempting a good novelist or poet from military service on the ground that he is a good novelist or poet. But even assuming that such a thing should come about, and assuming, moreover, that the task of deciding who was entitled to exemption was given to the editor of *Horizon* rather than the local draft board, what would be the effect, I wonder, on the writer himself? If I know anything about novelists and poets, the sense of having been officially designated creative writers and officially excused from running the risk of death like other men would impose, particularly on the best of them, a burden of responsibility, not to mention guilt, that might well be fatal as far as creative activity was concerned. As for the "formation of an official group of war writers," it might produce useful and well-written interpretations of war issues and peace aims; it might insure the physical survival of talented people whose death would be a genuine loss to literature, and that is desirable; but I'm afraid that the writing it generated would be official rather than creative.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Moscow and Magnitogorsk

ONLY THE STARS ARE NEUTRAL. By Quentin Reynolds. Random House. $2.50.

BEHIND THE URALS. By John Scott. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.75.

A FOREIGN correspondent, says Mr. Reynolds, travels more and faster but learns and sees less than any other known form of animal or plant life. That statement does not apply fully to Mr. Reynolds himself. He traveled a lot, mostly by air—which does not always mean "fast" these days—but he also saw a good deal: England, Russia, and Egypt. In his book he tells us too what he learned. He spent

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a day with Churchill and describes the Prime Minister as a man "who grins when he fights." In London during the Battle of Britain he came to the conclusion that that battle was won by the courage and toil of thousands of civilians. He was at the front in Libya and learned there what a German dive-bomber attack in the desert is like. Before his African experience he had been with the Harriman-Beaverbrook group in Russia and after three months in Moscow and Kuibyshev realized that the U. S. S. R. was not a country for reporters, although he liked and admired the Russians; he was unable to obtain sufficient material for his articles, and the little he got was not passed by the Russian censor. Resenting this situation, he left Russia at the first opportunity; he then joined the Litvinov-Steinhardt party on their flight via Baku and Teheran to Cairo.

Like most of his colleagues Reynolds does not speak Russian. Therefore he could not read the Soviet papers or even decipher posters or shop signs. Neither could he converse with the Russians. Naturally, in these circumstances he found his sources of information rather limited. Imagine a foreign correspondent in Washington who has to send cables to Europe and write "stories" about the United States without being able to speak or read a word of English.

Mr. Reynolds's description of the official dinner at the Kremlin at which Stalin was present, after the Harriman-Beaverbrook conference, is vivid and amusing; his portraits of some of Russia's leading men—Lozovski, head of the Information Bureau; Vyshinski, state's prosecutor; and Eisenstein, the film director, whom Reynolds was supposed to help with his picture "Moscow Fights Back"—are sharp and full of humor. More serious but not less brilliant is his sketch of Moscow in October, 1941, when the city, calm and courageous, was ready for whatever might come. But one does not get much real information on Russia from Mr. Reynolds. His is a book of personal impressions and adventures, not one of analytical discussion or political synthesis. The best chapters are those on the "retreat" to Kuibyshev and on the life that diplomats and journalists were compelled to lead in that forlorn town. Written in the light, sparkling style which is always one of Mr. Reynolds's assets, the book tells us more about the ways of American newspapermen than about the U. S. S. R.

Mr. Reynolds writes about his adventures like a storyteller. John Scott is more of a sociologist. In "Behind the Urals" he tries to make his own story fit into the frame of Russia's economic and political evolution in the last decade. Mr. Scott left the University of Wisconsin in 1931 and went to Russia. There he became a welder in the new industrial base of Magnitogorsk, behind the Urals. This huge steel and coal center was created in a region inhabited by wandering Asiatic tribes. The history of its construction is a wonderful tale of unremitting struggle and sacrifice. In 1929 Magnitogorsk had fewer than 2,000 inhabitants; in 1939 its population had risen to 250,000. Magnificent plants and blast furnaces were erected in a desert which lacked roads, houses, food, and men. Now Russia's largest industrial stronghold, which furnished roughly ten million tons of steel in 1937-42, it was built at an enormous cost in human lives and energy.

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Men were injured and killed, women and children froze to death, thousands starved in order to secure the victory of Russia's industrialization front. "I would wager," says Mr. Scott, "that Russia's battle of ferrous metallurgy alone involved more casualties than the Battle of the Marne."

Mr. Scott worked five years in the Magnitogorsk plant. He learned Russian, attended a Communist university without becoming a member of the party, and endured the same hardships as his comrades. The boundless enthusiasm with which they sacrificed themselves infected him from the day of his arrival. And their sacrifices were not in vain. Mr. Scott points out that Russian resistance in 1941-42 was made technically possible only by the industrial output of the Urals and Siberia. He firmly believes that recent events have entirely justified Stalin's ruthlessness in building up Magnitogorsk and other big factories behind the Urals at forced tempo.

Mr. Scott led the usual life of a Russian worker. He married a Russian girl and acquired an intimate knowledge of the Russian mentality and of the contradictions of the Soviet regime. He gathered facts and figures in an objective, nonpartisan way; he was able to observe and analyze; and his book on Magnitogorsk is a valuable contribution to an understanding of the U. S. S. R. Mr. Scott does not attempt to judge the regime or to generalize about communism, although he does not hide his opinion of the purge of 1936-39: it disheartened him extremely and in fact was the main cause of his leaving the country. But whatever his objections to the dictatorship, he never ceased to believe in Russia's great future. All that he saw and learned during his eight years' stay entitles him to proclaim that the country will never be conquered by Hitler, because "millions of Russians had been preparing for war for a decade, industrially, personally, and ideologically."

MARC SLONIM

The Powers and the Peace

CONDITIONS OF PEACE. By Edward Hallett Carr. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

E. H. CARR, Wilson Professor of International Politics at University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, has for ten years been publishing remarkable studies in the fields of international biography and international affairs. He celebrates the decade by producing a book on the most burning question of the day, always excepting the question of how we are to win this war. The latter question is of course implicit in the former. Those who would reject any study of the conditions of peace while we have not yet won the war seem to ignore the importance of the question for the morale of the United Nations.

Professor Carr is British. The book reflects his concern about British influence on the conditions of peace. He qualifies the assumption that Great Britain is destined to play a predominant role in the ordering of the world after the war. He concedes that after this war Britain's self-confidence will have received a "salutary shock" and will not repeat the error of 1918, that victory has enhanced its military and economic power. But he does think that Britain, if it pursues a wise policy, will be able to offer the same extensive markets as of old to dominions produce, and that if it "sets a wise course and recovers that sense of a mission which alone can preserve [it] from decay," it will continue to exercise a role of leadership and preeminence in large parts of Europe and Africa and in the Middle East.

Professor Carr's concern for British policy in Europe is tempered by a realization of the future Russian position. He also recognizes the strings that attach both to other than European factors. He does not concede the same possibility for other European nations when he visualizes a British-Russian European order instead of the defeated Axis order: "If Great Britain is ready to take her share of responsibility for a new order in Western Europe, there is a reasonable prospect of securing the whole-hearted cooperation of Russia in Eastern Europe." In regard to Germany, he admits that its defeat "is bound to be followed by an extensive military occupation," but insists on certain requirements in the preparation for the establishment of a new European order, in which Germans must ultimately be called on to participate: "If the occupying forces in Western Germany are predominantly British (perhaps with Dominion or American reinforcements), there should be no difficulty in securing a common-sense interpretation of these requirements. If Russian forces occupy Eastern Germany, there is reason to hope that they will observe a similar restraint." The implied acceptance of continued power politics will please citizens of the smaller of the United Nations as little as the statement that "in 1940 the resistance of small powers had no more than nuisance value." This is rank ingratitude for the added time their resistance afforded to the great powers and does not tally with the admission that "Dutch, Belgian, Norwegian, and Danish neutrality was, quite apart from anything these countries might think or do, an asset to Great Britain."

The smaller European nations are much too conscious of the independent value of their contributions to the joint war effort of the democracies, both on the home front and abroad, both before and after the successive waves of the Nazi invasion. They are beginning to be restive under the development of ideas that seem to indicate the abandonment of the fundamental unit in democratic society, the local community, in favor of centralized, distant control. A more realistic understanding of the tremendous tasks of internal rebuilding and rehabilitation that will face Britain, and Russia too, after this war might induce a more cooperative and democratic conception of the post-war order, particularly in Europe.

But in order to clarify these conditions of peace in one book, one would have to be an expert not only on international affairs but also on the inner working of democratic communities. Professor Carr proves to be the former in the second part of his book, which is concerned with "some outlines of policy," but he involves himself in contradictions and finds himself on unfamiliar ground in the first part, when he deals with "some fundamental issues." On both counts his book is, however, a fairly sound and faithful exposition of current ideas on the subject and is therefore useful. The index is less useful than it should be since it contains only the names of persons mentioned in the text.

BJARNE BRAATOY

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IN BRIEF

ASSIGNMENT IN BRITTANY. By Helen MacInnes. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

The author of "Above Suspicion" gives us another literate tale of British espionage, less ingenious than its predecessor but more firmly written. The hero is Martin Hearne, an English agent who looks so much like the wounded Frenchman Bertrand Corlay that he is able to return to France in Corlay's place. It is neither a new device nor a very credible one, and Hearne, the expert, lacks the charm of Miss MacInnes's earlier non-professional hero and heroine. But Miss MacInnes has an unusual sense of terrain, and her picture of Nazi-occupied Brittany is at least geographically absorbing.

VICTORY ON WEST HILL. By R. L. Duffus. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

It's all rather confusing: Washington Hendricks doesn't approve of his family, and when three generations of his descendants arrive in Vermont for his ninety-fifth birthday he takes a glandular injection the better to cope with them. The treatment produces a delusion—the old man thinks he fought in the Revolution instead of the Civil War, and this seems so to confound and impress his relatives that they instantly reform their various ways of life, but not until there has been a mass lobster poisoning. The author is the well-known book reviewer for the New York *Times.*

TAP ROOTS. By James Street. The Dial Press. $2.75.

Mr. Street has chosen a new corner of the Civil War, that inexhaustible source of modern fiction, for the scene of a large, loosely woven, but highly readable book. Writing about a romantic Mississippi family, the Dabneys, he recreates one of the Southern anti-slavery communities, part pro-Union, part Abolitionist, part purely anarchic, which seceded from secession and waged its own private war against the Confederacy. The love story is not unfamiliar: there are the usual death-dealing hero and the inevitable lady of spirit whose fall goeth hand in hand with her pride; talk runs high about honor, and there's much concern about tainted blood. On the political side, Mr. Street, aiming to shatter a few myths, does a more than usually realistic job on the nature of political motives.

DRIVIN' WOMAN. By Elizabeth Pickett Chevalier. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

Mrs. Chevalier's drivin' woman comes to maturity in the Civil War, flees her Virginia home after murdering the man who tries to rape her sister, marries a river-boat gambler, and then spends the rest of her life being faithful to her scoundrel-husband and trying to wrest a living from a tobacco farm in Kentucky. It's a hard life and not a very merry one, but there seems to have been a breed of gallant Southern lady for whom obstacles as enormous as those which confronted Merry Moncure were simply a challenge to the blood of her forbears. Mrs. Chevalier's long, detailed novel is competent though rather pedestrian, and it has an interesting account of the rise of the tobacco trust.

VILLAGE OF GLASS. By Frances Frost. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

Miss Frost's novel is about a glassmaker named Robin Thorn whose ambition in life is to blow his ideal woman in glass. He loves a girl named Laurel O'Hare and calls her O'Rabbit. All of a sudden there's a war (not this war, just Miss Frost's unpleasant fantasy of a war) and Vermont is invaded; at the drop of a cracker barrel, our glass-blower turns out to be a full-fledged pilot who zooms through the air as if a fighter plane were any man's bubble. An inept and ridiculous novel! It's a toss-up whether Miss Frost is at her worst being all poetic about nature, or all bloody about war, or just too hearty with those Vermont neighbors of hers.

DEEP VALLEY. By Dan Totheroh. L. B. Fischer Publishing Corporation. $2.50.

A lonely country girl and an escaped convict hide from the law and love each other in the isolated California valleys. Mr. Totheroh has written a short novel, pretentious in its poetic simplicity.

OUT ON ANY LIMB. By John Myers Myers. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.50.

Perhaps in a day when you can pick up your morning paper and read about the Commandos, the old-time cloak-and-sword story has lost some of its thrill. Mr. Myers's novel is set in Elizabethan England, and it is full of swashbuckling adventure, maidens in distress, and comradeship over a cask of ale. But for all its historical competence, it is peculiarly unsatisfying, even as romantic escape.

LAND OF UNREASON. By Fletcher Pratt and L. Sprague de Camp. Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

An American ex-diplomat, convalescing from the war jitters in Yorkshire, substitutes Scotch for the milk put out on his doorstep on Midsummer Eve and in consequence is kidnapped by the Little People. An allegory, of course, and a rather confusing one, but if you have nothing in principle against pixies, or against political animals in the form of frogs, leeches, and bats, a modern diplomat's highly literate adventures in fairyland may appeal to you.

NEWPORT TOWER. By Philip Ainsworth Means. Introduction by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Henry Holt and Company. $5.

As in the usual detective story, the question here is "who done it?" But in this case the "it" refers not to a murder but to the building of the Old

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Stone Tower at Newport, Rhode Island, which was painted by Gilbert Stuart before the Revolution and has been the subject of curious speculation for more than a hundred years. The unsensational assumption that it was built by Governor Benedict Arnold as a windmill in 1675 seems to have gradually come to be accepted chiefly because it *is* so much less sensational than the rival theory, which holds that the Norsemen were responsible. Now the whole question has been reexamined exhaustively and from the beginning in this fascinating book by a trained archaeologist who has evidently devoted years to research spreading out into various fields, including the history of windmills and the architecture of the Norsemen, as well as what can be ascertained concerning the latter's voyages. The whole story of the evidence and its finding is presented as a sort of detective story which makes fascinating reading for anyone capable of interest in such a first-class puzzle as this one. The author believes that Norse origin is overwhelmingly probable. There seems little doubt that he has proved conclusively the complete absurdity of the theory that it was built as a windmill by Governor Arnold or anybody else; yet it was certainly there in Arnold's time. The book is profusely illustrated with fine pictures. The author, who has devoted himself chiefly to Central and South American archaeology, has done work in that field for the Smithsonian, the Heye Foundation, and other organizations.

Drama Note

BEING no skater myself I went without great eagerness to see "Stars on Ice," which is being presented at the huge Center Theater by Sonja Henie and Arthur M. Wirtz. Miss Henie herself does not appear, but I am happy to report that instead of getting enough of it in half an hour I found myself very much surprised that eleven o'clock came as soon as it did. The ballets, the comic interludes, and the demonstrations of virtuosity are so agreeably alternated that, unlike a variety show, which always seems to me more conspicuously lacking in variety than anything else, "Stars on Ice" is not monotonous. It is all very pretty, very graceful, and, like so many hard things done well enough to seem easy, somehow exhilarating. Of the ballets I liked best The Chase; of the trick skaters a comic named Freddy Trenkler, who is doubtless well known to everybody except me. J. W. K.

RECORDS

WILLIAM WALTON'S music gives me the impression of a keen mind, a real feeling for the medium, a highly developed competence and fastidiousness in the handling of this medium. I get this impression from the latest of his works, the Violin Concerto that Heifetz recorded for Victor with the Cincinnati Symphony under Goossens (Set 868, $3.68); and the qualities I have mentioned make it interesting to listen to from one moment to the next—even when what I am listening to is the wailing passages in the first movement that are curiously reminiscent of "Summertime" in "Porgy and Bess," or the stormy passages that alternate with them. But the interesting minute-to-minute talk does not add up to a single large-scale utterance with the impressiveness and impact that such utterance can have. It isn't for lack of trying: those stormy passages are, I think, part of the attempt; but they seem arbitrarily inserted in their context, not in organic relation to it. The first movement, the most pretentious of the three, is the weakest in substance and structure; the best passage are the capricious, grotesque ones in the other movements.

The work is one that appears to have been written with the intention of making musical use of all the capacities of the solo instrument, and provides Heifetz with the occasion for a display of his own phenomenal capacities; but the wailing passages also provide him with occasions for his wailing style of phrasing, which I do not like. The orchestral part seems well performed. On a Scott 23 with Brush PL-25 pickup the recorded sound is quite good, but loud passages are a little confused and some of the fastidiously wrought orchestral detail is not heard distinctly in quiet passages. On the same machine with the Astatic Tru-tan pickup the over-all sound is a little shrill.

Liszt's "Mephisto Waltz," one of two pieces based on Lenau's "Faust," is for me one of Liszt's most enjoyable works. Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony (Set 870, $2.63) begins promisingly—which is to say the introductory measures establish the right tempo for the "Dance in the Village Inn" that is to come. But then, instead of a slight distention of this pace for the statement of the chief dance theme, we get a sudden violent interruption of the movement that has been established, a slowing down to a pace unrelated to that of the introduction for a bloated statement of the theme that protrudes out of its context. And this happens again later when the theme recurs. It is an example of the tendency to overemphatic statement and the lack of feeling for plastic continuity and coherence that spoil other Koussevitzky performances besides this one of the "Mephisto Waltz." The orchestra plays superbly; and the recorded sound of its playing on a Scott 23 machine with the Brush PL-25 pickup is very fine; but it is shrill and harsh on the same machine with the Astatic Tru-tan.

There are two or three details of overemphatic distortion in Koussevitzky's performance; and bad as they are in effect they proceed from an intention that is good—the desire to make the music effective, which in turn is part of the passionate devotion to music, the feeling of personal responsibility and dedication to it, which led Koussevitzky to his touchingly generous action of carrying the Berkshire Center program through on his own this summer. On the other hand, in the performance of Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony that Stokowski has recorded for Victor with the N. B. C. Symphony (Set 880, $5.78) there is hardly a phrase that is not distorted, and distorted senselessly; and when you go back to the performance of this symphony that he recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra thirteen or fourteen years ago you not only discover how the distortions which were moderate and occasional then have grown and spread until they now transform the work into a misshapen caricature of what Tchaikovsky imagined, but you perceive why they have grown and spread: the tendency to fuss with the music, to pull it this way and that, has grown with the impatient boredom of a man who had a phenomenal gift for conducting but no interest in music, a man for whom even the tonal part of conducting was a medium for personal exhibitionism; it has grown with the exhibitionism, which finally could be satisfied only by the opportunities that the films gave him for making a spectacle of himself.

The finale is objectionably cut, and the recorded sound is strangely drab, muffled, and at times almost inaudible.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

The Battle Against Fascism

Dear Sirs: The article by J. Alvarez del Vayo entitled World War III? in *The Nation* of June 20 was extremely important. From 1936 to 1938 Mr. del Vayo warned the democracies against the dangers of fascism and of appeasement. Today he points out another danger, one which seems to me not less grave. To destroy fascism it is not enough to conquer the Nazi and fascist armies. We shall lose the battle if we do not attack the very roots of fascism, the social and economic forces of which fascism is the expression.

It is certain that we shall witness toward the end of the war and during the peace conference an offensive by all the forces of reaction. The directors and beneficiaries of the present economic system will try to prevent the explosion of the revolutionary forces that have been accumulating in Europe; they will seek to set up or to maintain politically reactionary governments in order to preserve the capitalist system, and in carrying out this purpose they will utilize certain governments-in-exile and certain self-styled neutral governments, such as those of Franco and Pétain.

The success of this kind of politics would lead the world to catastrophe. Violent civil wars would break out. Democratic, progressive, and revolutionary forces might be crushed. Europe would then again enter on a period of dictatorship, militarism, and strengthened capitalism. A new outbreak of fascism, in another form and under another name, would be inevitable, especially since the present war will have reinforced nationalist tendencies everywhere.

Experience has proved that capitalism in its present form does not constitute a favorable climate for the development of democracy. There is a contradiction between the principles of discipline and hierarchy, which are the basis of monopoly capitalism, and the principles of equality and liberty, which are the basis of democracy. Capitalistic free competition has been able to accommodate itself to political democracy, but capitalistic monopoly is unable to. One does not need to be a Marxist to make the following observations: (a) The evolution of capitalism brings about a change in the composition of the middle class. Fifty years ago the majority of the middle class was made up of independent workers and professional men; today it consists of technicians caught in the hierarchy of capitalism and believing themselves the beneficiaries of it. (b) The increase of unemployment in an evolving capitalism makes social conflicts more and more acute; the period of class struggle is followed by class war. (c) The change from the capitalism of free competition to monopoly capitalism leads fatally to a corporative economy; and while the natural political form of competitive capitalism was democracy, the natural political form of a corporative economy is fascism.

A socialist economy, on the contrary, is suited to a political democracy; in a socialist economy political democracy is the natural outcome of economic democracy. I regret that I have not the space to consider the evolution of the political and economic systems of France, England, and Russia from this point of view.

In the world of tomorrow, if we wish to assure the development of democracy, fascism must be outlawed. On this point Del Vayo is absolutely right. What has happened in Europe should be a lesson to us. The moment that Italy suppressed democratic rights, democracy was threatened all over the world. Democracy and fascism cannot exist together in the same world and in the same epoch.

Communism and democracy, however, can exist in the same world. There is no contradiction of principle between the two formulas. Communism entails a period of dictatorship of the proletariat. But in the Communist thesis—and I venture to say in actual practice also—this period is an intermediate and temporary one. The Soviet constitution of 1936 is the most democratic one that I know. Its application has been suspended by the force of circumstances and by the necessity of preparing for war, but democratic liberties have been more or less suspended in all the countries which have prepared for war. There is no doubt that once the Soviet Union is rid of the Fascist and Nazi menace it will rapidly evolve into a political democracy.

The recent agreements among the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States have an importance which I wish to stress. These agreements affirm the will of the democracies and the Soviet Union to collaborate after the war in the establishment of an international order founded on justice, the liberty of the people, and respect for treaties. In my opinion this collaboration, and it alone, will permit humanity to reach a point of social and political equilibrium, to make new progress, and to avoid new wars.

The achievement of this new democratic international order will demand much good-will and understanding. I hope that the private interests of which the capitalist regime is the expression will not obstruct the effort.

PIERRE COT,
Former Air Minister of France

New York, July 7

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